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TOTEMIC TRACES AMONG THE INDO-CHINESE.

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER.

A RECENT article by Henri Maspero¹ affords me a welcome occasion to acquaint American students of anthropology with some data relative to certain totemic traces to be found among the Indo-Chinese stock of tribes. As these facts are not generally known or have hardly transgressed the boundaries of the sinological domain, it is hoped that they may prove of some utility to American anthropologists interested in the much-ventilated subject of totemism.

Maspero's new information is based on the communications of an individual from the so-called "Black Tai." The whole Tai population of Tonking and southern China is familiar with the usage of family names. This practice is not borrowed by them from the Chinese or Annamese, but, on the contrary, represents an indigenous custom which is reflected in the religious life of the Tai. The Black Tai believe that after death the soul of the individual is divided, — one remaining in the house, another resting in the grave, and another residing in heaven. Every family inhabits a special place in the villages of the souls, where it resides under the rule of its particular god of the dead, a Celestial Father (*Pú-then*), who bears the family name of the family under his sway. Thus there is a *Pú-then* styled Kwàng for the family Kwàng. Every Black-Tai family adheres to particular alimentary restrictions. Some of these, according to Maspero, are connected with the name by means of simple homonymy; others appear to bear no relation to the name. The family Lò-kâm, for instance, which forms the aristocratic family that supplies the village and district chiefs, is forbidden to eat the flesh of the bird *tang-lo*, fruits of the tree *tang* (this word agrees in tone with the element *tang* of *tang-lo*), and fungi growing on the same tree or at its foot. The family Kà must abstain from eating the flesh of the "cock of the pagodas" (*nôk kôt-ka*), as well as the buds of a certain flower termed

¹ De quelques interdits en relation avec les noms de famille chez les Tai-Noirs (Bull. de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 16 [1916] : 29-34).

kā. Young bamboo-sprouts (*nó lău*) are interdicted to the family Lău. The bird *me* and the fish *me* (*nôk me*, *pa me*) form the taboo of the family Mè. The members of the family Tòng must avoid eating the turtle-dove (*nôk sấu-tong*), and must not wear on their caps a copper point (*tong*). The family Ma is not allowed to feed on the flesh of the horse (*iô ma*). The use of a fan (*vi*) is forbidden in the family Vi when rice is served during meals. While the linguistic relation of these interdictions is easily grasped, it is not apparent, however, or obscured in the following cases. The family Lèo is not allowed to eat the blackbird *nôk iêng* and the water-fowl *nôk hăk*. The family Lüong abstains from fungi growing on the trunk of a branchless tree. Or the family Kwàng does not partake of the flesh of cat, tiger, and panther. If one of these families eats any things tabooed, even unknowingly, he will lose his teeth. There is no expiatory ceremony known, and no rite is practised to raise the taboo.

In regard to the family Kwàng, to which his informant belonged, Maspero gives more particulars. This family owes its superior rank to the concept that its ancestor was the first to emanate from the primeval gourd which produced mankind; immediately after him appeared the ancestor of the Lüong. The Kwàng belong to the family of the tiger, which they name by a term of respect, "grandfather" (*pu*). The degree of relationship is not ascertained: they do not descend from a tiger, nor are the tigers descendants of a transformed ancestor of their own; but it is certain that there is some sort of affinity. For this reason cat and tiger flesh are prohibited; the cat represents a highly prized dish of the Black Tai. The members of the family are immune from attacks of the tiger, and are not allowed to attack him or to take part in a tiger-hunt. Solely as an act of self-defence may they kill him. When they note a dead tiger on their road, or when the villagers carrying a slain tiger pass their habitation, they must without delay perform a minor ceremony. Taking a small piece of white cloth and throwing it over the corpse, they signify by this act that they have entered into mourning in his honor, and that the term of mourning is over. The prayer said on this occasion is of great interest, for it reveals the inner relations of the family to the tiger and the latter's influence on their welfare and that of their progeny. It runs as follows:—

"The grandfather is dead, leaving his children and grandchildren behind. The children and grandchildren ought to wear mourning in conformity with the rites, but the children and grandchildren were not able to go into mourning; the children and grandchildren terminate their mourning for the grandfather. There you are! [The piece of white cloth is then thrown over the tiger's corpse.] Protect your children, protect your grandchildren!

Those of you who survive, make them grow, let them prosper! In their work let them succeed, in their affairs let them do well! In their journeyings may they be without accident, wherever they may be, bless them! May they never see what is wrong, and never know bad omens! Let your children and grandchildren live long, ten thousand years, a hundred thousand harvests, eternally!"

On the other hand, the affiliation with the tiger also has its drawbacks. It causes the spirits to detest the members of this family. They have to keep aloof from sacred places. The field where the district festival (*lông lông*) is held to commemorate the commencement of agricultural pursuits, and the spot consecrated to the spirit of the district (*Fi mường*), are interdicted to them at all times. During the festivals they take part in the offerings; but they are not permitted to enter, and may attend only outside. At their village ceremonies they have to keep behind the other families, and the functions of master of ceremony occupied by the old men are closed to them. Finally the priest of the district, whose office is hereditary in the *Lũng* family for all the Black-Tai regions, must not marry a woman of the *Kwàng* family; even his brothers fall within this rule. However, the affinity with the tiger is not transmitted by the mother, but solely by the father. Whether similar beliefs and ceremonies with reference to the taboos prevail among the other families, says Maspero, is not known to him; in the case of the family *Vi* it appears to him difficult to admit that the fan might play there the same rôle as the *Kwàng* assign to the tiger. He thinks that among all peoples of southern China and northern Indo-China the tiger, from a religious viewpoint, is an animal so different from others, that it would be unwise to conclude the existence of similar rites in other families. This caution is praiseworthy, as is also the author's reserve in drawing any conclusions from his notes. He even avoids the terms "totem" and "totemism" and any theoretical discussion. His data, needless to add, are of intense interest to anthropology, and, if occasion offers, should by all means be completed. A complete list of all these Black-Tai families should be drawn up, and their ancestral traditions should be placed on record. Meanwhile it may be useful to render accessible the available data on real or apparent totemic phenomena within the Indo-Chinese group.

Aside from the Black Tai, actual observations of totemic phenomena, as far as the Indo-Chinese are concerned, were only made among the Lolo, first by A. Henry.¹ According to this author, "Lolo surnames² always signify the name of a tree or animal, or both tree and animal;

¹ Journal Anthropological Institute, 33 (1903) : 105.

² It is not correct to speak of Lolo surnames. The Lolo, like the Tibetans, did not have family names before contact with Chinese. The Sinicized Lolo adopted Chinese surnames.

and these are considered as the ancestors of the family bearing the name. This name is often archaic. Thus the surname Bu-luh-beh is explained as follows: *Bu-luh* is said to be an ancient name for the citron, which is now known as *sa-lu*.¹ The common way of asking a person what his surname is, is to inquire, 'What is it you do not touch?' and a person of the surname just mentioned would reply, 'We do not touch the *sa-lu*, or citron.' People cannot eat or touch in any way the plant or animal, or both, which enters into their surname. The plant or animal is not, however, worshipped in any way." The Lolo are a widely extended group of tribes, and those studied by Henry are those of Se-mao and Meng-tse in Yün-nan.

The term "totemism" with reference to the Lolo was then actually employed by Bonifacy,² who believed that certain animal legends, traces of exogamy, and certain taboos, might be considered as survivals of a very ancient totemic organization, but that the proofs are lacking. In my opinion, the data offered by the author reveal no survivals allowing of any conclusion as to former totemism. If, for instance, the newly-weds among the Lolo are not allowed to cut bamboo or to eat the young bamboo-sprouts, this is easily explained from the legend of the first couple who performed their marriage under a bamboo that made speech to them. Bonifacy's material on the Lolo, especially as to social and religious life, belongs to the best we have.

In the "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus de Kouy-tcheou" (Kuei-chou), by A. Schotter,³ which must be taken with great reserve, we meet a heading "Totémisme chez les He-miao" (Hei Miao), but the notes appearing under this catch-word are disappointing. The author learned that a certain family of the tribe, Pan, abstains from beef, and received as explanation thereof the following story. One of the ancestors of the Pan was much taken by the charms of a young girl of the family Tien of the same tribe, whose hand was refused him nine times. Finally the condition was imposed on him that he should sacrifice an ox, but not partake of its flesh. The Pan family went beyond this request, and all its descendants avoid the meat of any sacrificed ox. Another piece of evidence: the Tien do not eat dog-flesh. A young mother died, leaving a small girl about to die for lack of milk. She was suckled by a bitch, and, out of gratitude to her nurse, never touched canine flesh, cursing those of her descendants who would not imitate her example. It is obvious that these two cases are simple taboos, the legends being invented in order to explain

This word is related to Nyi Lolo *é'u-se-ma* and Tibetan *ts'a-lum-pa* (see T'oung Pao, 17 [1916]: 45).

² Bull. de l'Ecole française, 8 (1908): 550.

Anthropos, 6 (1911): 321.

them, and bear no relation to totemism. Finally also N. Matsokin,¹ with reference to Schotter and some other sources, has spoken about totemism among the Lolo and Miao.² It is notable that the two men who were best familiar with the life of the Lolo — Vial and Liétard, two Catholic missionaries — have nothing to report that might be interpreted as totemism. At all events, if totemism ever existed among the Lolo, only scant survivals of it have remained. The independent Lolo, who are not yet explored, may offer better guaranties in contributing to this problem.

I now proceed to place before the reader in literal translation some ancient Chinese records that speak for themselves, and that have the advantage of not being biased by any modern totemic theory. The numerous aboriginal tribes inhabiting the territory of southern and southwestern China are designated by the Chinese by the generic term "Man" or "Nan Man" ("southern Man"). The following legend is told in the Han Annals concerning the origin of the Man.³

"In times of old, Kao-sin Shi⁴ suffered from the robberies of the K'üan Jung.⁵ The Emperor, being grieved at their raids and outrages, attempted to smite them by open attack, but failed to destroy them. Thereupon he issued a proclamation throughout the empire: 'Whoever shall be able to capture the head of General Wu, the commander of the K'üan Jung, will be offered a reward of twenty thousand ounces of gold, a township comprising ten thousand families, and my youngest daughter as wife.' At that time the Emperor had raised a dog whose hair was of five colors [that is, manicolored], and whose name was P'an-hu.⁶ After the issue of

¹ Materinskaya filiatsiya v vostochnoi i tsentralnoi Asii (The Matriarchate in Eastern and Central Asia), pt. 2 : 94-96 (Vladivostok, 1911).

² Several conclusions of this author are inadmissible, owing to his blind faith in Schotter's uncritical data. He accepts from him the statement that "the antique form of the Chinese character for Miao represented a cat's head and signified a cat." Hence in Matsokin's mind the cat becomes a totem of the Miao. This is a sad illusion. The tribal name Miao is a native Miao word, and its significance cannot be interpreted from any arbitrary manner in which the Chinese please to convey this word to their writing. In fact, neither the word nor the Chinese character with which it is written has anything to do with the cat, which is *mao*, but not *miao*, in Chinese; and, even if the Chinese should etymologize the name in the sense of "cat," the conclusion as to a cat-totem among the Miao would be an utter failure. Nor is it correct, as asserted by Matsokin, that the eagle is a totem of the Miao.

³ Hou Han shu, Ch. 116, p. 1.

⁴ One of the early legendary emperors of China, alleged to have reigned about 2436 B.C.

⁵ That is, "Dog Jung." "Jung" was a generic term for barbarous tribes in the west of China.

⁶ The characters representing this name have the meaning "tray" or "plate" and "gourd." In explanation of this name, the Wei lio, written by Yü Huan in the third century A.D., has this anecdote: "At the time of Kao-sin Shi there was an old woman living in a house belonging to the Emperor. She contracted a disease of the ear, and, when the object causing the complaint was removed, it turned out to be as large as a silkworm-

this order, P'an-hu appeared at the gate of the palace, holding a man's head in his jaws. The officials were surprised, and examined the case. In fact, it was the head of General Wu. The Emperor was greatly pleased, but considered that P'an-hu could not be married to a woman or be invested with a dignity. He deliberated, as he was anxious to show his gratitude, but did not know what was fitting to do. The Emperor's daughter heard thereof, and held that the pledge which the Emperor had made by the proclamation of his order should not be broken. She urged him to keep his word; and the Emperor, seeing no other expedient, united the woman with P'an-hu. P'an-hu took her, set her on his back, and ran away into the southern mountains, where he stopped in a stone house situated over a precipice inaccessible to the footsteps of man.¹ Thereupon the woman cast off her royal dress, tied her hair into a *p'u-kien* knot, and put on *tu-li* clothes.² The Emperor was grieved, and longed for her. He sent messengers out to make a search for his daughter. Suddenly arose wind, rain, thunder, and darkness, so that the messengers were unable to proceed. After the lapse of three years she gave birth to twelve children, — six boys and six girls. After P'an-hu had died, the six boys married the six girls. They used the bark of trees for weaving, and dyed this stuff by means of plant-seeds. They were fond of manicolored clothes, and cut them out in the form of a tail. Their mother subsequently returned home and told the story to her father. The Emperor thereupon sent messengers to bring all the children. Their clothes were striped like orchids, and their speech sounded like *chu-li*.³ As they were fond of roaming over hills and ravines, but did not care for level country, the Emperor, in conformity with this trend of mind, assigned to them renowned mountains and extensive marshes. Subsequently they increased and ramified, and were called Man Barbarians. Outwardly they appeared like simple folk, but inwardly they were clever."

cocoon. The woman placed it in a gourd, which she covered with a tray. In a moment it was transformed into a manicolored dog, which hence received the name P'an-hu." Compare also Chavannes, T'oung Pao, 6 (1905) : 521. This is etymological play made after the event, and is without relation to the original form of the legend. In all probability, P'an-hu is a word derived from a language of the Man, with a quite different meaning. The ancient pronunciation of the word was *Ban-ku, and *ku* is a Man word meaning "dog." The term will be treated in detail in a forthcoming study of the writer on the languages of the Man.

¹ The Commentary adds the following. This place is identical with what at present is called Mount Wu in the district of Lu-k'i in Ch'en chou (in Hu-nan Province). According to the Wu ling ki, by Huang Min, this mountain is about ten thousand *li* high [Chinese determine the height of mountains by measuring the length of the road leading from the foot to the summit]. Half way on the mountain there is the stone house of P'an-hu, which can hold ten thousand people. Within there is his lair, where his footprints are still left. At present, in front of the caves of Mount Ngan, are to be found ancient remains of stone sheep and other stone animals, which are indeed very curious. Also many rock caves as spacious as a three-roomed house may be seen there. The Yao hold that these stones resemble the shape of a dog. According to The Traditions of the Customs of the Man (Man su hiang chuan), they represent the image of P'an-hu.

² This means that she adopted the hair-dressing and costume of the indigenous Man tribes. The commentary admits that the two terms *p'u-kien* and *tu-li* are unexplained; they doubtless represent words derived from a language of the Man.

³ The commentator remarks that *chu-li* is the sound of the speech of the Man barbarians. The meaning is that their speech was crude and uncultivated.

This tradition makes a dog the ancestor of the Man; and his descendants cut their clothes out in the form of a dog's tail, their coat-of-arms. The relationship of the Man to the Chinese is emphasized; their languages, in fact, are closely allied. They are characterized as hunters in the mountains and marshes, where they have fields cultivated by very primitive methods, while the plains are reserved for the agriculture of the colonizing Chinese. The modern Man have preserved this tradition with some variants. Some tribes still abstain from the flesh of the dog. Among the Man Tien, who style themselves "Kim Mien" (Mien = Chinese Man, that is, "man"), they have images representing the creator Pien-Kan seated on a throne and holding a flower in his hand; beneath him is shown a dog being carried on a palanquin by two men. A man-dog appears in their decorative art. The Man Kao-lan still profess to have descended from the ancestor-dog P'an-hu. They state that the lozenges embroidered on the shoulders of their women's dress indicate the spot where the paws of the ancestor rested when he cohabited with the princess.¹ The chiefs of the Yao retained P'an as their name: thus there was a Yao chief P'an Kuei in the beginning of the fifteenth century.² They also sacrificed to P'an-hu at New-Year offerings of meat, rice, and wine. There is a peculiar tribe of several hundred families living fifteen miles east of Fu-chou, in Fu-kien, called Sia. They are said to be descendants of a dog-headed ancestor, styled Go Sing Da, whose image is worshipped in the ancestral hall on the fifteenth of the eighth month and on New-Year's Day. After this it is kept locked up, as they are ashamed to let others see it.³

One of the powerful kingdoms of the Southwestern Man at the time of the Later Han dynasty (A.D. 25-220) was called Ye-lang, bordering in the east on Kiao-chi (Tonking). The Chinese have preserved to us the following ancient tradition with reference to the origin of royal power among this people.

"In the beginning, a woman was bathing in the T'un River, when a large bamboo consisting of three joints came floating along and entered between the woman's legs. She pushed it, but it did not move. She heard an infant's voice inside, took the bamboo up, and, returning home, split it. She found in it a male child, and reared him till he had grown up. He developed warlike abilities and established himself as Marquis of Ye-lang, assuming the family name Chu [that is, Bamboo]." ⁴

The foundation of the kingdom of Nan-chao in Yün-nan, the

¹ E. Lunet de Lajonquière, *Ethnographie du Tonkin septentrional*, pp. 210, 252, 253, 272, 280.

² G. Devéria, *La Frontière sino-annamite*, p. 90.

³ F. Ohlinger, *Chinese Recorder*, 17 (1886): 265, 266.

⁴ *Hou Han shu* (Annals of the Later Han Dynasty), Ch. 116, p. 6 b; *Hua yang kuo chi*, Ch. 4, p. 1 b.

populace of which belonged to the T'ai family, is thus narrated in the Han Annals: ¹ —

"The ancestor of the Ngai (or Ai-)Lao barbarians was a woman, Sha-yi by name, who dwelt on the Lao mountain.² Once when she was engaged in catching fish, she came in contact with a drifting piece of wood, which caused her a feeling as if she had conceived. Accordingly she became pregnant, and, after the lapse of ten months, gave birth to ten sons. Subsequently the drifting log was transformed into a dragon, who appeared on the surface of the water. All of a sudden Sha-yi heard the dragon speak thus: 'Those sons begotten by me, where are they now?' Nine of the sons became frightened at sight of the dragon and fled. Solely the youngest child, who was unable to run away, set himself on the back of the dragon, so that the dragon could lick him. In the mother's native [literally, 'bird'] language, 'back' is termed *kiu*, 'to sit' is called *lung*:³ hence the name 'Kiu Lung' was conferred on the child. When he had grown up, his elder brothers inferred from Kiu Lung's strength that he had been licked by his father, and, on account of his cleverness, proceeded to elect him king. Afterwards there was a couple living at the foot of Mount Lao. Ten daughters were born to them. These were taken as wives by Kiu Lung and his brothers. At a later time, when they had gradually increased in number, all the tribesmen cut and painted [that is, tattooed] their bodies with designs representing a dragon, and wore coats with tails. After Kiu Lung's death, several generations succeeded to him. Eventually the tribe was divided under the rule of petty kings, and habitually dwelt in places scattered in the ravines and valleys far beyond the boundaries of China. While, intercepted by mountains and rivers, the populace strongly increased, it had never held any intercourse with China."

The term "Dragon-Tails" (*lung wei*) was still applied to the later dynasty Nan-chao. The dragon-tail is an analogon to the dog-tail of the Nan Man.

In 1635 a Chinese, Kuang Lu, who had been in the service of a female chieftain of the Miao, published a small book under the title "Ch'i ya," which belongs to the most interesting and instructive documents that we have on the Miao. This author (Ch. I, p. 17 b) mentions a tribe under the name "Tan," who lived on river-boats, subsisting on fish, without engaging in agriculture and intermarrying with other people. They called themselves "dragon-tribe" (*lung chung*) or "men of the dragon-god" (*lung shen jen*). They painted a

¹ Hou Han shu, Ch. 116, p. 7 b.

² A native tradition is more explicit on the origin of Sha-yi. She was the wife of Mong Kia Tu, who was the fifth son of Ti Mong Tsü, son of Piao Tsü Ti, who is identified with King Açoka of Magadha. One day when Mong Kia Tu was fishing in Lake Yi-lo, south of the city of Yung-ch'ang, he was drowned, whereupon Sha-yi came to this place to weep (see E. Rocher, T'oung Pao, 10 [1899]: 12; Devéria, La Frontière sino-annamite, p. 118; C. Sainson, Histoire du Nan-tchao, p. 25).

³ Modern Chinese *kiu* was in Old Chinese **gu*, and *gu* is a typical Indo-Chinese word for "back" (see T'oung Pao, 17 [1916]: 52). *Lang* or *lung* in Siamese means "to sit." The compound signifies "sitting on the back" (namely, of the dragon).

snake on their temples for purposes of worship, and the records of population they styled "dragon-doors" (*lung hu*).¹ The remains of the Tan are still to be found in the floating river-population of Canton.²

The Western K'iang (Si K'iang) were a large group of nomadic tribes, the present province of Kan-su forming the centre of their habitat, who must be regarded as the forefathers of the Tibetans. A brief notice on their social organization is preserved in the Han Annals.³

"There was no fixed distinction of families and clans: the designations of tribes were derived from the personal name of the father or from the family name of the mother. After the twelfth generation, marriages were permitted in the same clan. On the father's death, the son married his step-mother.⁴ When an elder brother died, a new marriage was arranged for his widow; so that there were no widows in their country. Their tribal divisions were numerous, but they did not have any institution like princes and officials. They did not take regard of elders, but it was the strongest man who was elected chief by the tribes. When he weakened, he was relegated to the common people; and then they vied with one another in a contest of strength to find out who was the bravest."

A division of the K'iang bore the name Wu-yi Yüan-kien. The designation Wu-yi (*Mu-yit) is explained by a gloss to mean "slaves," as they were held in serfdom by the Duke Li of Ts'in in the fifth century B.C. Subsequently they were split into several tribes, each with a special appellation. One of these was called the "Yak (*li-niu*) Tribe;" these were the K'iang of Yüe-si. The K'iang of Kuang-han styled themselves "White-Horse (*pai ma*) Tribe;" those of Wu-tu had the name "Wolf (*ts'an lang*) Tribe."⁵ The annalist then continues, —

"Jen and his younger brother Wu alone remained in Huang-chung [in the present prefecture of Si-ning in Kan-su], and took many wives. Jen had nine sons, who formed nine tribes. Wu had seventeen sons, who formed seventeen tribes. The rising power of the K'iang began from this time."

Yü Huan, in his "Wei lio," written in the third century A.D., enumerates the following three clans of the K'iang, — the Ts'ung-ts'e⁶

¹ The Chinese count the number of families by doors.

² See Notes and Queries on China and Japan, I : 15, 28, 107.

³ Hou Han shu, Ch. 117, p. 1.

⁴ The same custom is related by the Chinese in regard to the ancient Hiung-nu (Huns) and T'u-küe (Turks). It means, of course, that it was bound up by the law of inheritance of these peoples, and that the son fell heir to his father's entire property, inclusive of his women, slaves, etc. See also G. Soulié (Bull. de l'Ecole française, 8 [1908] : 362, note 2).

⁵ Hou Han shu, Ch. 117, p. 3. The term *ts'an* seems to refer to a particular species of wolf, but its meaning is not explained. This account relates to the fourth century B.C.

⁶ The compound consists of two plant-names, — *ts'ung* referring to garlic (see T'oung Pao, 17 [1916] : 96), and *ts'e*, to a plant yielding a red dye (*Lithospermum officinale*). It is

(Garlic) K'iang, the Pai-ma (White Horse) K'iang, and the Huang-niu (Yellow Ox) K'iang, — adding that each of these tribes has its chiefs, and that among the last-named the women give birth to a child after six months.¹ The same author speaks of another group of tribes, called "Ti," the descendants of the Si Jung, and related to the K'iang in language and customs. Some divisions of this people were termed by the Chinese "Green and White Ti," from the color of their costume; but another clan styled itself "Ti Jan," the latter word designating a reptile under which it was classed.²

From a passage in the Annals of the Sui Dynasty,³ we note that a clan of the K'iang, scattered in the country Fu (2000 *li* northwest of Se-ch'uan), was named "Pai Kou" (White Dog).

In the age of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 590-617) a tribal group of the K'iang became known to the Chinese under the name "Tang-hiang," the element Tang appearing as Tangud or Tangut (*-ud* being a Mongol termination of the plural), the Turkish and Mongol designation of the Tibetans. To the Tang-hiang belonged the Tang-ch'ang and Pai-lang (White Wolves), who conferred on themselves the name "Monkey Tribe" (Mi-hou Chung).⁴ In fact, the monkey belonged to the sacred animals of the ancient Tibetans, and was sacrificed with sheep and dogs once a year, when the officers assembled for the ceremony of the minor oath of fealty.⁵ In their own traditions the Tibetans have preserved at great length the story of how they descended from the alliance of a monkey with a female giant (Rākshasī).⁶ But there is no evidence that the monkey ever was the totem of a Tibetan clan, or that a Tibetan clan named itself for the monkey; the latter, however, as shown by the Chinese account of the Tang-hiang, may have been the case in ancient times.

In regard to the Chinese, the existence of totemism is denied by some authors, while others are inclined to uphold it.⁷ Neither the one nor the other can be asserted in our present state of knowledge. We must not forget, of course, that Confucius, who made the Chinese what a more probable, however, that *ts'ung-ts'e* relates solely to a single species, presumably to a wild *Allium*.

¹ Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, 6 (1905) : 528.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 521-522.

³ *Sui shu*, Ch. 83, p. 8 b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2 b.

⁵ *Kiu T'ang shu*, Ch. 196 A, p. 1.

⁶ See, for instance, Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, pp. 355-361. For a complete bibliography of the subject, see Laufer (*T'oung Pao*, 2 [1901] : 27-28).

⁷ A. Conrady, "China". (in *Pflugk-Hartung's Weltgeschichte*, p. 491). The evidence merely rests on the interpretation of names. Conrady's popular history of China is modelled on Lamprechtian ideas of evolution, which are interpreted, and partially in a very forced way, into the given material. This method is not to be taken seriously; the critical anthropologist will understand without comment.

French writer aptly styled *affreusement bourgeois*, has spoiled China completely for the ethnologist. Certainly the Chinese never were those angels of virtue that we are prone to make them out in reading the tenets of their moral creed. Morals look well on paper always and everywhere. There was a prehistoric age when also the Chinese, like their congeners the T'ai, Miao, and Tibetans, did not pose as the champions of morality, but behaved like real and natural men. This has been very clearly shown in a most interesting study by M. Granet.¹ While no positive data are as yet available, from which conclusions as to a former totemic organization could be drawn, there are some indications which may be suggestive. Unfortunately the development of social organization in China has never been investigated by modern scientific methods.

The number of family names derived from words designating plants and animals is comparatively large. Following is an alphabetical list of the more common ones: —

FAMILY NAMES BASED ON PLANTS.

CH'I, white jasmine (<i>Jasminum sambac</i>).	LIAO, <i>Polygonum</i> .
CHU, bamboo.	LIU, willow (<i>Salix babylonica</i>).
CH'U, hay, straw.	LU, a reed (<i>Phragmites</i>).
HING, apricot.	MA, hemp.
HU, gourd, calabash.	MAI, wheat.
HUA, flower.	MANG, a grass (<i>Erianthus japonicus</i>).
HUAI, <i>Sophora japonica</i> .	MAO, reeds, rush.
HUAN, <i>Sapindus mukorossi</i> .	MEI, plum (<i>Prunus mume</i>).
JANG, stalk of grain.	MI, hulled rice.
JUI, small budding plants.	MOU, barley.
JUNG-KÜAN, family of the <i>Hibiscus</i> .	MU, tree.
KI, thistles.	NGAI, <i>Artemisia vulgaris</i> .
KI, several species of <i>Rhamnus</i> and <i>Zizyphus</i> .	PO, thickly growing vegetation.
KEN, root.	PO, arbor-vitæ (<i>Thuja orientalis</i>).
KU, cereals.	SANG, mulberry-tree.
KUA-T'IEN, gourd-field.	SING, a marshy plant.
K'UAI, a rush (<i>Scirpus cyperinus</i>).	SU, grain.
KUEI, cinnamon-tree (<i>Cinnamomum cassia</i>).	T'AN, <i>Dalbergia hupeana</i> .
K'UEI, <i>Amarantus</i> .	T'ANG, <i>Pyrus</i> .
Kü, chrysanthemum.	T'AO, peach.
KUO, fruit.	T'AO, rice.
LAI, goosefoot (<i>Chenopodium album</i>).	TI, <i>Prunus japonica</i> .
LI, plum (<i>Prunus triflora</i>).	TOU, beans.
LI, lichee (<i>Nephelium litchi</i>).	TSAO, various aquatic plants.
LI, chestnut (<i>Castanea vulgaris</i>).	TSAO, jujube (<i>Zizyphus vulgaris</i>).
	TSE, <i>Cudrania triloba</i> .
	TSI, panicked millet.

¹ "Coutumes matrimoniales de la Chine antique" (T'oung Pao, 13 [1912] : 517-558).

Ts'UNG, a conifer.	WEI, grass.
T'UNG, <i>Paulownia imperialis</i> .	YANG, poplar.
Ts'E, calthrop (<i>Tribulus terrestris</i>).	Yü, elm (<i>Ulmus campestris</i>).

FAMILY NAMES BASED ON ANIMALS.

CHI, leech.	NGO, moth.
CHI, ringed pheasant.	NIU, ox.
CH'I, worm.	PAI-MA, white horse.
CHUI, piebald horse.	PAO, dried fish.
CH'UNG, general term for reptiles and insects.	PAO, panther.
FANG, bream.	PAO-P'I, panther's skin.
FU, wild duck.	PEI, cowrie-shell.
FUNG, male phoenix.	PIAO, tiger-cat; stripes of a tiger.
HIAO, owl.	PIE, fresh-water turtle (<i>Trionyx sinensis</i>).
HIUNG, bear.	SE, team of four horses.
HO, crane.	SHE, serpent.
HU, fox.	SIA, chrysalis of a mantis.
HU, tiger.	TIAO, sable.
HUI, venomous snake.	Ts'ING-NIU, dark ox.
JAN, boa.	Ts'ING-WU, dark raven.
KI, fowl, chicken.	TSOU, small fishes, minnows.
K'I, piebald horse.	TSOU, a fabulous beast.
K'IN, birds in general.	Tsü, fish-hawk, osprey.
KOU, dog.	Ts'UI, bird-down.
KU, heron.	Ts'UI, kingfisher.
Kü, colt of a horse.	T'UN, sucking-pig.
LANG, wolf.	WU, raven.
LIN, fish-scales.	YANG, sheep.
LO, white horse with black mane.	YANG-SHE, sheep-tongue.
LU, stag.	YEN, swallow.
LUNG, dragon.	YEN, wild goose.
MA, horse.	YU, polecat.
MONG, tree-frog.	Yü, fish.

It should be understood, of course, that it is by no means implied that the foregoing names had a totemic origin. This remains to be investigated by tracing in detail the history of these families bearing such names. In some cases it is certain that such names are not connected with a totem, but have a quite different origin. For instance, a man in the sixth century B.C. bore the family name Chuan, a word designating a large fish found in the Tung-t'ing lake. He killed Wang Liao, prince of Wu, with a poisoned dagger which was concealed in the belly of this fish served to him at dinner. This story plainly accounts for the origin of the family name. The list of these plant and animal family names, however, is interesting in itself, and, it is hoped, may prove a stimulus to serious investigation.